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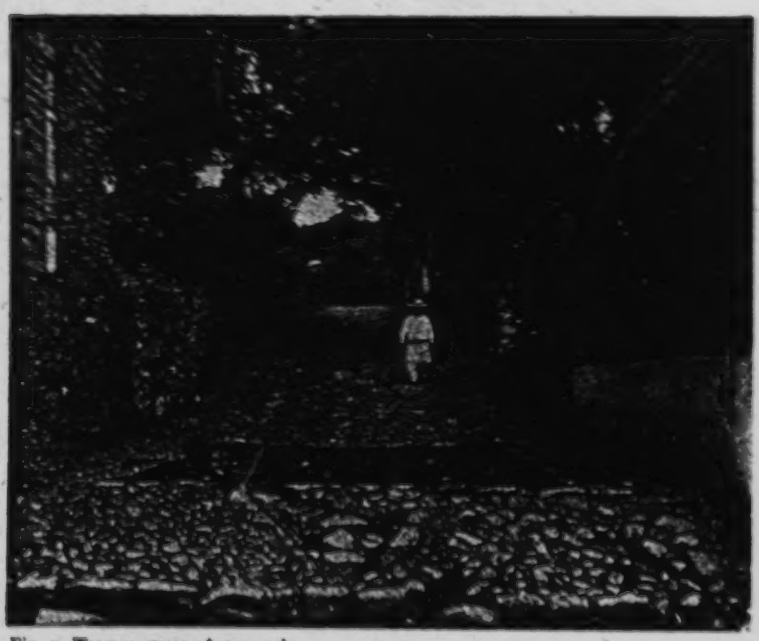

Fig. 9. Terrace street, Aztec style.

361 though the village contains 662 house sites, it does not have the compact or crowded appearance of some Mexican towns. For the most part, the houses are separated 351 from each other by gardens, patios, corrals, and sometimes milpas. These are enclosed by low-lying stone walls which do not block the view from the street and which permit overhanging trees to shade the street. Only a few houses in the center [342] are built contiguously in Spanish style and are enclosed by high, concealing walls.

361 Tepoztlán has the traditional square plaza around which are grouped the more [369] important public buildings. On one side of the plaza is the small public park, com- [363] plete with bandstand, shade trees, benches, and brick walks. The paved road, which [494] runs along the other side of the park, ends at this point, and here, too, is the last stop on the bus line.

[344] North of the park is the courthouse which houses the office of the president, secre- tary, and other local officials. A guard in soldier's uniform is frequently seen pacing [346] up and down before the steps. The new school house was built next to the court- house and is now one of the important edifices of the center. Between these two [347] buildings and the plaza itself is the Portales, a semi-enclosed street where most of the stores and permanent vending places are located. The street has a roof sup- [366] ported by columns and provides merchants and buyers protection from the sun and rain.

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Fig. 10. A street, resembling a dried-out stream bed.

rain. To the east is the large cathedral and convent, the most imposing and handsome buildings in the village. The convent is now a historical monument and is visited by tourists. Between the cathedral and the plaza is a row of whitewashed, flat-roofed stores. West of the plaza is a dirt road leading to the lower part of the village, to the cemetery, and to the village of Ixcatepec and more stores. The mills and some of the finer old houses of former *caciques* are also located on the plaza.

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This part of the village presents the appearance and some of the hustle and bustle of a town, but the streets off the center are uniformly quiet and rustic and stamp Tepoztlán as a rural village. (See Fig. 12.) But even the center does not give the impression of an active, thriving community. The park, plaza, and public buildings show evidence of chronic neglect. Only for the annual Carnaval is the area well swept and the main fountain cleaned. The park is seldom occupied by the native population and, except when there are tourists, usually looks abandoned.

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The stores are small and dark and have unattractive displays. On market days the few vendors and the small variety of goods available betray little commercial activity and a general air of decline. (See Fig. 13.)

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The streets just off the plaza bear names indicated by placards. As is customary in Mexico the street names commemorate important historical events and outstanding local figures. Thus in Tepoztlán we find such street names as The Fifth of May, Aniceto Villamar, and No Reelección.[8] Only those houses in the center are

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[8] Some of the street names are in Náhuatl and refer to pre-Hispanic figures, for example, Avenida del Tepozteco and Netzahualcoyotl.

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Fig. 13. The market place, Tepoztlán.

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Fig. 14. Public fountain, Tepoztlán.

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most religious and conservative and, according to our study of wealth distribution, it is also the poorest. This does not justify Redfield's statement that the barrios have "obviously different cultures," or that "the members of a barrio tend to think and act alike." Indeed, the absence of distinct barrio traditions was striking. No one could be found who knew the history of his barrio. No one knew when the barrio chapel had been built or when the milpa of the chapel had been obtained.

During the Díaz regime, the distinction between the larger and smaller barrios in terms of those of the center and those of the periphery corresponded in some degree to class distinction, since most of the well-to-do *caciques* and merchants lived in the center. Strictly speaking, however, even this distinction was not accurate, since all the larger barrios had their share of the poor and illiterate; and, as we have already seen, parts of the larger barrios are almost as far from the plaza as the most distant smaller ones.

The general tendency since the Revolution, especially during the past twenty years, has been the diminishing of barrio differences. Today an approximately equal distribution of well-to-do and acculturated families are to be found in all the barrios. In fact, Los Reyes, one of the smaller barrios, showed the highest proportion of landholding families. The various barrios now participate much more equally in village life. The distribution of services is no longer limited to the center. By 1943 there were about ten small stores and a few barber shops scattered among the barrios. Similarly, in contrast to Redfield's finding in 1926 that no letters went to the outlying barrios, San Pedro and Los Reyes now receive their share of the mail. It is also doubtful whether there are at present any significant differences in literacy on a barrio basis. Today the contacts between the outlying barrios and the outside is much less mediated through the center. We discovered just as large a percentage of young people from the smaller barrio as from the larger who have gone to study outside of the village. And certainly Redfield's characterization—the smaller as barrios of *tontos*, the larger as barrios of *correctos*—does not apply now.[24]

POPULATION

Tepoztlán had a population of 3,230 according to the Mexican Federal Census of 1940. In 1942 a local census of the village taken by schoolteachers and officials showed a population of 3,517, and by 1947 the population was well over four thousand. It is apparent that the Tepoztecan population, like that of Mexico as a whole, is increasing rapidly.

SIZE AND GROWTH

While we have no exact data on the size of the Tepoztecan population at the time of the Conquest, there is evidence which suggests that it was considerably larger than the present-day population and in fact larger than at any time since the Conquest. The earliest materials from which a reliable population estimate can

[24] For a critical discussion of Redfield's distinction between *tontos* and *correctos*, see Chapter 21, "Summary and Conclusions," p. 430.

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for there are employers and employees within the specialties. Thus, a part time carpenter may employ two assistants during the busy season in his trade. In this connection it should be noted that the numbers of occupations shown in Table 19 refer to both artisans and their day laborers.

The changes in occupation and specialization can best be appreciated by a comparison of our data with that given by Redfield for 1926. A complete comparison is not always possible because some of the occupations in Tepoztlán are new and others, though mentioned by Redfield, were not given in numbers. Table 19 lists the occupations and numbers of persons employed in 1926 as compared with 1944. Also included are the number who belong to families with milpas in *ejido*, private holdings or *tlacolol*, to indicate those who have other sources of income. Finally, I have listed the number who work in their fields, in addition to their trade, to determine the degree of specialization.

An examination of Table 19 indicates at once the magnitude of the changes in occupations. Considering first only those occupations for which there is comparable data, we find that there has been an increase from 69 to 187 individuals who work in the various occupations. This represents an increase of 161 per cent as compared with a population increase during this period of approximately 45 per cent.[4] Comparing the number of individuals engaged in special occupations in 1926 with the number today, we find an increase from 69 to 273. This represents an increase of over 290 per cent.

The difference between these two figures is in a sense a measure of the degree of acculturation and the rise in the standard of living. The sharp rise in the number of storekeepers, teachers, butchers, bakers, and masons bears out this statement. In contrast to the small number of stores (five), which existed in Redfield's time, all of which were in the plaza, there are now twenty stores, ten in the plaza and ten distributed among the barrios. The spread of stores to the barrios reflects the general tendency in the village, whereby the outlying barrios are becoming incorporated into the life of the center.

The stores have not only increased in number; they also carry a much wider variety of goods than twenty years ago. Formerly one had to go to Yautepec or Cuernavaca to buy sombreros, cloth, or pants. Now these items and many others are available in the village. The increase in the number of bakers from six to twenty-four attests to the widespread use of bread as a supplement to the tortilla. (See Fig. 17.) Even the poorest family looks forward to eating rolls at least a few times during the week. The figures on the increase of shoemakers from two to five do not adequately reveal the increase in the number of individuals who own shoes. According to the census of 1940, more than three hundred wore shoes daily. However, shoes are given little wear and are used primarily on Sundays and days of fiesta.

[4] This estimate is conservative, for as has already been indicated, there must have been fewer than 69 individuals with special occupations in 1926.